

SECURITY CHALLENGES FACING A CHANGING WORLD: THE CASE OF KOSOVO

Bejtush Gashi, Kosovo Minister of the Interior
bejtush.gashi@rks-gov.net

John R. Fisher, Utah Valley University
john.fisher@uvu.edu

ABSTRACT

Security problems through time have become the area of responsibility for the most important institutions of states and their experts. The world has never been safe for small states because history has shown that it is very easy for major powers to manipulate these states, both economically as well as militarily. Small countries cannot finance wars on their own, so, to avoid or reduce the risk of conflict, small countries must use diplomacy. Uncertainty in international relations is much greater for a small country than for a large country. The best means to avoid uncertainty is for small countries to associate with international institutions. This paper suggests that for small states of the western Balkans, the most logical strategic choice is the Euro-Atlantic integration.

INTRODUCTION

This paper uses a case study approach to explore the security challenges of small states. The case study is used because it offers a means of exploring security threats and providing alternatives and solutions. The case study explores the conditions and the unique environment of the Republic of Kosovo. While different in many ways, it has similar circumstances as other small states. Security is examined using the broader definition of “societal” security. The paper looks first at small state security challenges from external threats and offers diplomacy and cooperation as solutions. Kosovo’s unique security environment is then described, identifying internal threats.

The definition of security has changed dramatically. It has moved beyond traditional factors like military forces and international relations, which largely determine state security. The meaning has expanded to include all factors that have the capacity to use force or violence and that affect not only the arena of military action in large scale, but also the smallest unit – one family. The victim includes not only the physical security of the state and the individual, but also the environment. The breadth of security includes freedom of movement, freedom from disease, hunger, and repression (Sachs, 2003). These new factors cannot be addressed through “traditional” national security, but require a new concept, that of “societal” security, which is not only an element of national security, but extends security to society itself (Wæver, 1993).

Long ago security problems became the area of responsibility for the most important government institutions as well as their experts. Currently, security policy is organized through the security system, which analyses the level of organization options to perform the security function in contemporary society. As part of the general state policy as a whole, security policy is implemented as national security goals. Since the state has responsibility for the formulation and development of security policy, the state should consider both traditional security factors (i.e., external threats) as well as non-traditional domestic factors (Stewart, 2004).

SMALL STATES SECURITY CHALLENGES

Small or medium states face an age-old conundrum. Throughout history, the world hasn't been safe for them. This was highlighted during the Cold War, when the great powers manipulated small and weak states economically and militarily. The super-powers' rivalry, ideological conflicts, as well as confrontations for geo-political and geo-strategic interests tore small and medium states apart. History has witnessed that small and medium states have been swallowed up by great power states as in the period of Prussian dominance to modern times in the Sahara deserts. Nevertheless, assimilation of small and medium states didn't always occur; some not only survived as independent and sovereign states but they also prospered side-by-side with powerful states. Clear and meaningful examples are Switzerland, Costa Rica, Israel, Singapore and other small states of the Pacific and the Caribbean.

After the 1990s, a main strategic problem for post-communist states was the realignment within the new context, in not just formal but essentially meaningful ways, as candidates for membership into the European Union and NATO. In the first years of transition their situation was less complicated because clear demarcations continued to exist between West and East. Meanwhile, the concept of West incurred serious changes as a result of new separation lines between Europe and America. This process became almost irrelevant after the 9/11 terroristic attack, when larger states found common interest in their fight against terrorism. Some researchers even mocked and ascertained that the new real order minimizes the dangers on small states security; however, in a bipolar world, dangers still exist. For small states in Europe the only clear strategic solution is Euro-Atlantic integration. In post-communist Europe, "European integration was valued because it did not entail any de facto loss of sovereignty; on the contrary, the EU offered great socioeconomic advantages, enabling its members to maximize their international influence" (Solana, 2017).

In general, the joint security and protection project that came with Euro-Atlantic integration was the idea of large European states, but the purpose to be positioned in the international system was the main motive that obliged almost all the small states to join in (Molis, 2006). Small states have survived because of these associations, which lead them towards the desired objective of joint military defence. Those who want peace must prepare for war. Except for Cyprus, Malta, Ireland and Denmark, all the European Union small member countries expressed their interest to support the security plan and joint protection activities of Euro-Atlantic integration (Molis, 2006, p. 84).

Smaller states should focus on creating a trained professional force that is economically affordable,

which can easily be mobilized in case of crisis. The best examples are Israel, Switzerland, Taiwan and Singapore that have well-armed forces. Well financed, these forces have the strength to discourage opponents and to prevent the risk of attack. To provide deterrence from aggressors, small countries must have quality armed forces, with good morale, training and equipment. Armaments and equipment must be constantly modernized.

However, while the development of preventive military measures in association with other states may assure security, these associations also challenge national integrity and independence. Maintaining the independence of small and medium states such as Israel, Switzerland, Singapore, Kosovo, Macedonia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, and Montenegro must be paramount. Yet being prepared to use force against aggressors is mandatory, and an equally responsible decision.

While security may be one result of Euro-Atlantic integration, its purpose has been much broader, by supporting democratic institutions and the rule of law. An early catalyst for Euro-Atlantic integration came in support for the Balkan Trust for Democracy (BTD), which backs democracy, good governance, and Euro-Atlantic integration in south-eastern Europe. Created in 2003 by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, BTD's original ten-year mandate came to an end in May 2013. BTD then entered into its second mandate (2013-20) with structural changes to geographic coverage and grant making scope (GMF, 2018; Reaves, 2009).

ROLE AND IMPACT OF SMALL STATES DIPLOMACY IN NATIONAL SECURITY

To protect and to promote their vital interests, small states must determine what strategy needs to be followed and then support the plan politically. The concept of neutrality in international relations has not changed. Yet, according to analysis, its future in the globalized world is very insecure (Harden, 1994). In the last decade, even the most typical examples of neutral states, Austria and Switzerland, manifest attitudes that are not aligned with the traditional definition of this term. Especially after 1989, isolation or neutralism in the world is no longer logical. This applies equally for countries in the western Balkans. Rather, they need to look toward diplomacy as a viable option. Diplomacy is a safe means for a small state to confront external threats. Since a small state is not able to stand against a conflict with its own forces, the best option to avoid or to decrease the danger of conflict is diplomacy.

Other small states such as Finland, Singapore and many microstates in the Pacific and Caribbean have followed a policy of "neutral" diplomacy. This form of diplomacy has its flaws because the wish for understanding and good relationships with neighbours may be considered a weakness. While this approach has value for small states as well as large ones, only the states with powerful armies can confront the challenges of world politics.

The only way to avoid insecurity, which for small states in international relations is greater than for large states, is their association with international institutions. This way they "exercise" two functions:

- a) First, “they deter” the rigid attitude from large states through joint rules and principles that apply to both small and large states. Because this structure decreases the risk of misunderstanding that could increase the chance of an armed confrontation, it affects directly the security of small states.
- b) Secondly, these institutions provide a chance for small states to express their opinion and, even in the last instance, to use their veto for important issues that are in their national interest. Even where the weight of votes is asymmetrical (such as for example in UN where only the permanent members of the Security Council have the right to use the veto), small states can still exercise their greatest impact (Wivel, 2005, p. 6).

Membership in regional organizations institutionalizes relations between small states in the field of economy and security as well as it sets a framework for conduct, which protects the weak from the eventual misuse of the strong. Joint policies and associations assist the small member states in the European Union to exercise their influence both inside and outside their region much easier than if they acted individually (Wivel, 2005, p. 2). According to Wivel, small states traditionally have a privileged position in European Union. He explains that through institutional arrangements in the European Union’s key bodies (the Council, the Commission and the Parliament), the small states exercise influence which is proportionally greater than their potential.

MULTILATERAL COMMITMENT IN KOSOVO

Kosovo is influenced by its geo-strategic position and, as a result, the "diplomatic games" of the international arena. On the one hand, as a Balkan environment, it is affected by all the historical legacy of this region. In turn, as part of the European environment, states of the European Union and the United States practice positive influence on stability, democratization, and integration. Kosovo's geographical position takes a special importance, putting it on paths that cross Europe and lead to southern Europe and the Mediterranean basin.

With the declaration of independence on February 17, 2008, Kosovo defined its strategic goals in foreign policy. These shaped its security policy as an integral part of other policies. The strategic goals of Kosovo security policy and foreign policy focus on: political and diplomatic activities to increase the number of countries for international recognition of Kosovo; policies and constructive roles in international economic organizations; commitment to the growth of bilateral relations with all partner countries, especially with neighbouring countries; political activities, cultural and economic affirmation of Kosovo in the international community in the realization of national interests; and concern for Kosovars in the world.

Two documents of special importance, “The General Security Strategy of Kosovo” (Office of the Prime Minister, 2010) and “The Definition of National Critical Infrastructure” (Republic of Kosovo, 2018), broadly define and state the interests of Kosovo, including key elements of the “national being” as it applies to security institutions. These interests are: the preservation of the sovereignty of the Republic of Kosovo, protection of constitutional order, independence and territorial integrity, freedom and human rights, economic growth and prosperity, membership in

international security structures, and development and protection of key systems, including transportation links, energy, water supply, supply of foodstuffs, and elements of national culture and identity.

The policy of cooperation and integration in the international security institutions, with particular emphasis on NATO integration, as a means of achieving stability in the country and the region, constitutes a fundamental objective and strategic solution for Kosovo's security and defence of national interests. However, the rate of success in the implementation of this policy depends on achieving internal stability and consolidation of democratic society and human rights, economic development, human capacity building (education level and functional literacy), and consolidation of institutions and instruments of security (Stewart, 2004). Also, important to success is the affirmation of Kosovo as a contributing factor in the progress of the processes of regional and global security. Kosovo, supported by NATO and EULEX (European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo), is building a European security system, which is based on mutual cooperation at regional and international levels.

NATO provides security to Kosovo through KFOR (Kosovo Forces), which has a 5000-person strong military presence in the country. In 2013, NATO played an important role in securing agreement for the EU-facilitated First Agreement of Principles Governing the Normalisation of Relations between Kosovo and Serbia. NATO and its allies continue to support the accord and dialogue in hopes of solving the political impasse and improving relations between the two nations. NATO also supports the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between the EU and Kosovo that was signed in 2015 and implemented in 2016 (NATO, 2017).

The SAA establishes an agreement between the European Union and Kosovo that describes mutual rights and obligations related to a number of areas. It assures Kosovo respects “key democratic principles and core elements” that form EU market principles and allows for free trade. It requires Kosovo make reforms that meet EU standards in areas such as competition, state aid, and intellectual property. It also encourages political dialogue and provides for cooperation in areas like education and employment, energy and the environment, and justice and home affairs (European Council, 2015).

The main aim of the general security policy of Kosovo relates the broad concept of “personal” security and the strengthening of security in cooperation with other countries based on the principles of the UN, OSCE and the Council of Europe. Maintaining the independence and territorial integrity of the countries of the western Balkans is of special importance for Kosovo and for stability and security in this region. In this regard, the establishment and expansion of the mission of EULEX throughout the territory of Kosovo is of particular importance, because this mission is making efforts to meet the basic principles of the Declaration of Lisbon (1996). This declaration assures the “freedom of states to decide their own commitments on security, including alliances and treaties” and obliges states “to take into account the legitimate interests of other countries, especially neighbouring countries” (OSCE, 1996; EULEX Kosovo, n.d.).

The mission of EULEX in Kosovo is complex work, because solutions must address the documents of the Council of the European Union (2008/124 / CFSP), especially the executive responsibilities, the heterogeneity of the composition of the staff, as well as the functioning of state structures and

the justice system, especially in the north. EULEX has undertaken several successful activities in the field of customs and the management of visits of top Serbian officials to Kosovo. However, the mission has not fulfilled its objectives and the results can be considered modest, as they pertain to the extension of EULEX throughout the territory of Kosovo and the outcome of all criminal cases in the Supreme Court of Kosovo inherited from United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) (Proksik, 2017; Radin, 2014). The resolution of some criminal cases is complicated by other levels of the judiciary as well, particularly as they relate to several persons suspected of committing serious crimes during the war and the management of several criminal cases related to exhumations and identification of mortal remains of wartime. Finally, the mission has failed in that some areas of the territory of Kosovo continue to operate outside the jurisdiction of the institutions of Kosovo and international authorities. Illegal Serbian structures continue to operate and Serbian and several other intelligence services function within the country. Remnants of the Serb forced system of governance of Kosovo continue to be administered and funded directly by the Republic of Serbia (Selimi, 2015).

KOSOVO SECURITY CHALLENGES

Environmental challenges of societal security in Kosovo are many. These are affected by the current international and domestic circumstances faced by Kosovo. Some of them have a direct impact (acute) on safety, while others have indirect or delayed impact. Those that have direct impact on societal security are corruption, terrorism and organized crime, including trafficking in human beings and illegal trafficking of controlled substances - drugs, weapons, technology. Challenges that have indirect or delayed impact include the low quality of education at all levels, resulting in functional "illiteracy"; the lack of agrarian policy and the strategy of urbanization; the integration of the Serb minority in state institutions; and the influence of Belgrade on the Serbian minority.

Kosovo's security challenges are similar to other countries in the region. Forca (2018) identifies the following problems facing countries in the western Balkans in their bid for EU membership: a stalemate in democratic institutions; an ineffective judiciary; the lack of, or insufficient level of, the rule of law (particularly in regards to guarantees for human rights and freedoms); and the unsuccessful fight against organized crime and the economic crisis (including foreign indebtedness, budget deficits, high unemployment rates).

After thirty years, a census of the population was completed in 2011. Data from this census has not yet been published. Nevertheless, it is known that Kosovo has the youngest population in the continent (Kosovo Agency of Statistics, 2013). Gashi (2009) has warned that no matter how positive this fact is, in terms of capacity development, the young population creates challenges. For example, the level of achievement of success in the matriculation exam has decreased, forcing the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology to do what should not be done – to lower the threshold for passing the test. Private education systems in Kosovo have created an inflation of personnel in the social sciences – lawyers, bankers, managers, criminologists, political scientists, diplomats – who cannot find practical application of their skills. In the meantime, there is a need

for people with technical skills and science backgrounds, i.e., medicine, construction, and heavy machinery operation (Beka, 2014; Kosovo Education Center, 2014).

While the unemployment rate in Kosovo is 26.5 percent in the first quarter of 2018, its average from 2001-2018 is 36.9 percent. It decreased to 26.50 percent from 30.60 percent in the fourth quarter of 2017. Youth unemployment is much higher at 54 percent for the first quarter of 2018 (Trading Economics, 2018a, 2018b). Unemployment has led to an exit of many of young and educated Kosovars to countries in the European Union, Switzerland, and the United States. Remittances are the largest source of external financing for Kosovo. Even though their share in GDP fell from 17.5 percent in 2004 to below 13 percent in 2010, it is still high by regional and global standards (World Bank, 2011).

The United States Department of State (2012) rated crime level as “high” in Kosovo. High unemployment and other economic factors encourage criminal activity, according to the report. Unemployment and poverty are factors leading to street crime as well as organized crime. Half of the Kosovar population live below the poverty line. Corruption in politics also contributes to organized crime. Some claim EULEX, the police, and government have ignored organized crime as a compromise in nation building (Xhymshiti, 2015; Proksik, 2013).

Significant improvement of road infrastructure is undoubtedly a great achievement in the independent Kosovo. A highway connecting Albania and Serbia directly through Kosovo has become an important corridor connecting the Adriatic Sea to Western Europe (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2015). But this achievement should extend to investing in the development of urbanization outside major cities. Gashi (2009) has warned about the failure of spatial and urban planning and its impact on the country’s infrastructure. He has also expressed concern about weaknesses in how security institutions are organized to protect personal safety and the security of the country (See also Personal Security, 2007). The Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Rural Development’s efforts should be praised, which under the harsh conditions of budgetary constraints, has taken great steps to promote agriculture and livestock. Investments in agriculture improve employment rate, reduce the country's dependence on imports of agricultural products, as well as reduce migration from villages to cities. The agricultural sector contributes up to 20 percent of GDP, supporting 62 percent of Kosovo's population that lives in the rural areas (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2017; Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Rural Development, 2017).

The integration of minorities into society and state institutions is a prerequisite for European Union membership. However, putting the needs of a group of any affiliation (whether economic, social, or ethnic) before the needs and welfare of society in general never brings the expected effects. In fact, human history has proven that these attempts always end in disaster for individuals and the whole society. Such efforts in Kosovo resulted in 90 years of open war that finally ended in the late twentieth century. Kosovo institutions should learn from the bitter experiences of the past by providing safety of all minorities. UNMIK "inherited" a Serbian minority of about 120,000 persons, many of whom oppose the Kosovo state. The Kosovo state and local institutions are responsible for their safety and protection (Personal Security, 2007; Community Policing, 2007).

While the influence of Belgrade among Kosovo Serbs has decreased significantly since the Kosovo war of 1998-1999, especially after the declaration of independence in 2008, the impact remains

problematic, especially in the north. Local elections in 2009 and as well as the national elections in 2014 also helped to alleviate the concerns of the Serbian minority. Besides being a political problem, this influence is a threat to general security of Kosovo. Local Serbs in Zvecan have already blocked the highway several times, proving that any time they can cause turmoil in the security system. They neither recognize nor support the Kosovo Police, the NATO Kosovo Force (KFOR) or EULEX. Their lack of support is demonstrated by impeding the arrest of suspects for organized crime and by supporting smuggling and obstructing police efforts to prevent illegal imports from Serbia (GazetaExpress, 2018; BalkanInsight, 2013).

CONCLUSION

State security as a concept is complex. Security is a multi-dimensional structure. The overall global security situation over the past decade has changed dramatically. In the new security environment, the traditional concepts no longer provide solutions for present problems (Viano, 1999). In the short term, association with other states within an affiliation like Euro-Atlantic integration continues to be the best solution for Kosovo societal security. Ultimately, membership in NATO and the European Union will be the best solution to allay both external and internal threats.

While many old threats have been placated, they have been replaced by new and scarier challenges. Some segments of organized crime – terrorism, illegal trafficking, exploitation of human beings, and corruption of senior officials – have caused serious consequences not only to human lives, but also to the economic and political stability and security of the countries with fragile democracies. While the western Balkans have seen much progress, the region faces difficult challenges, such as social shock, anarchy, violence, and constitutional violations. These impediments have endangered the security and integrity of the region and its countries. The troubled security is a product of a troubled world.

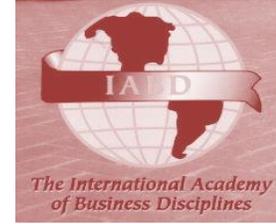
To ensure peace the small states must use strategies for power balancing. Diplomacy is the safest means for a small state to confront the external threats. Because a small state is not able to stand against a conflict with its own forces, the only way to avoid or reduce the risk of conflict is through diplomacy. While small states like Kosovo need the economic and business support of large states from the east and the west, they don't need political meddling in their internal affairs.

REFERENCES

- BalkanInsight. (2013, July 30). *EU police injured in clash with Kosovo Serbs*. Retrieved from <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/kosovo-serbs-block-roads-after-fellow-serbs-arrest/1589/5>
- Beka, A. (2014). Reforming the education system in Kosovo with the start of the 9th classes. *Journal of Educational and Social Research*, 4 (1), 183-187. doi:10.5901/jesr.2014.v4n1p183

- Community policing, applicable strategies or insurmountable challenge. (2007, November). *Institute for Security Studies and Integration, Pristina.*
- EULEX Kosovo. (n.d.). *Mission and Mandate*. Retrieved from <http://www.eulex-kosovo.eu/?page=2,60>
- European Council. (2015). *Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between the European Union and Kosovo signed*. Retrieved from <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/10/27/kosovo-eu-stabilisation-association-agreement/>
- Forca, B. (2018). Political, economic and security aspect of the EU western Balkans strategy. *International Journal of Economics and Law*, 61.
- Gashi, B. (2009, August). Economy Safety. *International Studies: A Review of International Relations, Foreign Policy and Diplomacy*. Zagreb, Croatia: The Center for International Studies.
- GazetaExpress (2018, March 27). *Kosovo Serbs block roads after arrest of Serbian official*. Retrieved from <https://www.gazetaexpress.com/en/news/kosovo-serbs-block-roads-after-arrest-of-serbian-official-173889/>
- German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). (2018). *Balkan trust for democracy*. Retrieved March 22, 2018, from <http://www.gmfus.org/program/balkan-tru>
- Harden, S. (1994). *Neutral states and the European Community*. London: Brassey's.
- Kosovo Agency of Statistics. (2013, February). *Estimation of Kosovo population 2011*. Pristina, Kosovo. Retrieved <http://ask.rks-gov.net/media/2129/estimation-of-kosovo-population-2011.pdf>
- Kosovo Education Center. (2014). *Brief situation analysis of the education sector in Kosovo*. Retrieved from <http://kfos.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/BRIEF-SITUATION-ANALYSIS-.pdf>
- Office of the Prime Minister, Republic of Kosovo. (2010). *National Security Strategy of Republic of Kosovo*. Pristina, Kosovo. Retrieved from http://www.kryeministri-ks.net/repository/docs/STRATEGJIA_E_SIGURISE_E_REPUBLIKES_SE_KOSOVES.pdf
- Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Rural Development, Republic of Kosovo. (2017). *News. Kosovo - Agricultural sector*. Retrieved from <http://www.mbpzhr-ks.net/en/news>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Kosovo. (2015). *Infrastructure*. Retrieved from <http://www.mfa-ks.net/?page=2,195,2250>
- Molis, A. (2006). The role and interests of small states in developing European security and defence policy. *Baltic Security & Defence Review*, 8, 81-100. Retrieved from <http://www.bdcsl.ee/files/docs/bsdr/5-Small States and the ESDP-Arunas Molis.pdf>
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). (2017, March 9). *NATO's role in Kosovo*. Retrieved from https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_48818.htm
- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). (1996). *Lisbon Document* (Fifth OSCE Summit of Heads of State or Government, Lisbon, 2-3 December 1996.). Retrieved from <https://www.osce.org/mc/39539>
- Personal security in Kosovo, necessity for a comprehensive review*. (2007, August). Institute for Security Studies and Integration, Pristina.
- Proksik, J. J. (2013). Organized crime and the dilemmas of democratic peace-building in Kosovo. *International Peacekeeping* 20(3), 280-298. doi:10.1080/13533312.2013.838396

- Proksik, J.J. (2017). EULEX and the fight against organised crime in Kosovo: what's the record? *Trends in Organized Crime*. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12117-017-9321-8>
- Radin, A. (2014). Analysis of current events: "towards the rule of law in Kosovo: EULEX should go". *Nationalities Papers*, 42(2), 181-194. doi:10.1080/00905992.2013.870545
- Reaves, A. (2009). German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). In H. Anheier & S. Toepler (Eds.), *International encyclopedia of civil society* (pp. 752–753). Berlin: Springer Science & Business Media.
- Republic of Kosovo. (2018, April). Law no. 06/L-014 for Critical Infrastructure, Pristina, article 3, paragraph 1.11. *Official Gazette of Republic of Kosovo*, 5, 27. Retrieved from <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=16313>
- Sachs, S. E. (2003). *The Changing Definition of Security*. Retrieved from http://www.stevesachs.com/papers/paper_security.html
- Selimi, B. (2015). Illegal Serbian structures in the Republic of Kosovo: Why these structures are illegal and not parallel? *Academic Journal of Business, Administration, Law and Social Sciences*, 1(3), 115-126.
- Solana, J. (2017, July 27). *Order from chaos: The flip side of Euro-Atlantic integration*. Brookings Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2017/07/27/the-flip-side-of-euro-atlantic-integration/>
- Stewart, F. (2004). Development and security. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 4(3), 261–288. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1467880042000319863>
- Talavs J. (1996). *Baltic States: Cooperation on Security and Integration in to the European Security System*, NATO Research Fellowships.
- Trading Economics. (2018a). *Kosovo Unemployment Rate 2001-2018*. Retrieved from <https://tradingeconomics.com/kosovo/unemployment-rate>
- Trading Economics. (2018b). *Kosovo Youth Unemployment Rate 2012-2018*. Retrieved from <https://tradingeconomics.com/kosovo/youth-unemployment-rate>
- U.S. Department of Commerce. (2017). *Kosovo - Agricultural sector*. Retrieved from <https://www.export.gov/article?id=Kosovo-Agricultural-Sector>
- U.S. Department of State. (2012). *Kosovo 2012 Crime and Safety Report*. Retrieved from <https://www.osac.gov/Pages/ContentReportDetails.aspx?cid=12089>
- Viano, E. (1999). *Global organized crime and international security*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate.
- Wæver, O. (1993). Societal Security: The Concept. In Ole Wæver, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup & Pierre Lemaitre, *Identity, migration and the new security agenda in Europe*. (pp. 17-40). London: Pinter
- Wivel A. (2005). *Small EU member states after enlargement: A new context of foreign policy making*. ISA 46th Annual Convention.
- World Bank. (2011, May 25). Migration and economic development in Kosovo. Retrieved from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTKOSOVO/Resources/Migration_and_Economic_Development_in_Kosovo_WB_report.pdf
- Xhymshiti, V. (2015, December 26). Crime and punishment in Kosovo. *Foreign Policy Journal*. Retrieved from <https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2015/12/26/crime-and-punishment-in-kosovo/>



INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH

VOLUME 7, NUMBER 1, August 2018

ISSN 2165-3240



**A PUBLICATION OF EASTERN WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY AND THE
INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY OF BUSINESS DISCIPLINES**

WWW.IJIR.NET